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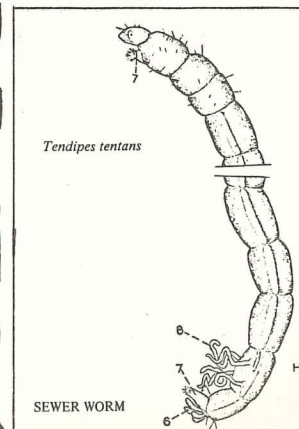
ON WELFARE

IN THE
HILL



ON MARCHES

IN THE
MILL
RIVER



STOP DESTROYING HOMES

by Joelle Dominski

More than 24 community groups pledged to unite in the fight against Mayor Lee's redevelopment and highway program at a meeting sponsored by the Hill Neighborhood Corporation (HNC), Sunday, Jan. 19.

Fred Harris brought the diverse groups together to show them how the "downtown" bureaucrats used their power against the people of New Haven. Specifically, the Redevelopment Agency was going to violate a former agreement with the Corporation and tear down two houses in the Hill on the following Monday. (See letter from Charles I. Shannon, where the commitment is in writing.)

Harris did not confine his discussion to specifics, however. He explained how the experiences the Hill has had with the Redevelopment Agency are part of a program of those in power to divide neighborhoods and scatter the residents. He prepared the community groups to join together and confront the Redevelopment Agency.

The Hill Neighborhood Corporation knows from hard experience, the kinds of double-deals the Redevelopment Agency will play. When they learned on Friday, Jan. 17, that Redevelopment was going to tear down two houses at Putnam and Alling Sts., it was clear that the time to act had come.

Tactical Alert

HNC decided that *all* the people of New Haven in all the neighborhoods should be alerted to the tactics of the Redevelopment Agency, so that they would be able to act effectively when their neighborhoods were renewed according to the Agency's own plans.

The community representatives understood what Harris was talking about when he said, "The agencies that have been set up for the poor (such as CPI, Mental Health Center) are doing *nothing* — they're serving Mayor Lee, not the people." Harris was, in effect, putting into words the frustrations the people of New Haven

have been feeling, caused by the "liberal" programs of the present administration.

Again and again, Harris gave the group of nearly 60, examples of how the "service" groups were serving the bureaucrats, and not the neighborhood people they were pledged to. (See HNC press release, which came out of this meeting.)

Harris related the story of how the night after HNC declared the two Putnam St. houses "rehabitable" a fire burned one of the homes. At this point, the Fire Department made a general investigation. They labeled the two houses fire hazards, and also condemned ten other houses in the area, to be torn down.

"The man downtown is devious to get what he wants," Harris summed up. He doesn't try to find out what the people here want, because he doesn't want to lose his power. He doesn't really want Model Cities to succeed.

The Peoples' Enemies

Fred Harris held firmly to the role he expected community workers to take. It

is the job of the CPI and other agency people to take the feelings of the people downtown. Therefore, said Harris, all the agency people should support us in our opposition to the tearing down of houses. "Agency people who aren't with the people are the enemy of the people. [Officials] who stunt the growth of whole peoples are murderers."

Harris won the support of all the community groups at the meeting. Several people from Fair Haven pledged their support to the people of the Hill, in return for help in fighting the Redevelopment Agency in Fair Haven.

The similarities of problems in the Hill and Fair Haven magnified the need for all the groups to unify, and stop demolition of rehabilitable housing all over the city.

The city chooses to build new housing instead of preserving the old. In the few cases where houses have been rehabilitated in the Hill, Redevelopment has held back on letting people move in.

Harris had no kind words for the architect the city chose to plan the new housing (Kahn of Philadelphia.) "He has never talked to us. How does he know what we want, what our needs are?" Rich people go to an architect and tell him how they need their home to be. When it's done they get paid. That's the way it should be for the whole community, Harris asserted.

Regular Communication

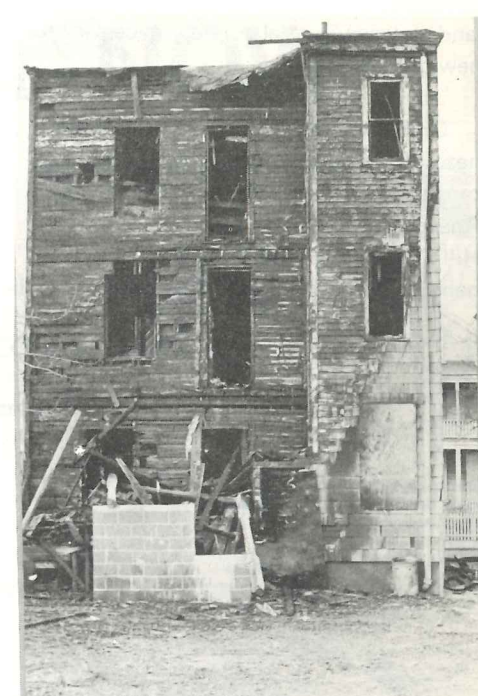
People are being displaced either into other ghettos or out of New Haven. "In Dixwell the people got scattered. We won't allow that in the Hill, Harris emphasized. To insure the unity of all the groups concerned, it was decided that the Hill Neighborhood Corporation would plan some regular means of getting all the groups together for meetings to discuss strategy, and to give each other support. The first action of support was a gathering at Putnam and Alling Sts. Monday, Jan. 20, at 8 a.m.



Fred Harris, left, and Henry Tamarin, an HNC neighborhood worker, walk in the demonstration to save the two houses on Putnam Street.

when the bull-dozer was originally scheduled to tear down the two houses in question. Nearly 100 people came to that demonstration, although the HNC had received a court injunction for Thursday, thus postponing the actual bull-dozer confrontation.

The people of New Haven know that their city is being ruined by the redevelopment and highway program. They are ready to unite to defeat this program. As they are coming together on one issue, they are learning about each others' problems and are benefiting from each others' experiences. The call to action on the part of the Hill Neighborhood Corporation was a constructive and positive step. Now, individual groups are able to see how the power of the local government works against them in greater perspective. As Fred Harris said of the agencies who are puppets to Mayor Lee instead of serving the people they supposedly represent, "You're on the way out, man."



This house had a fire the night after HNC declared it could be rehabilitated.

THE PRESS RELEASE

Everyone knows that there is a housing shortage in New Haven. This shortage has hurt the poor and the black most severely. At least 7,000 low rent apartments and homes have been destroyed by the Urban Renewal and Highway programs and none has been built to replace them. Some low-income families have been housed under the rent-supplement and leased-housing programs but there are over 500 families on the Family Relocation workload and this figure does not include families who have fled New Haven to find a decent home.

The Redevelopment Agency first presented the Hill Central Urban Renewal Plan in April, 1966. In the nearly three years since, the neighborhood has expressed dismay and concern about the housing shortage in general and the Hill Central housing in particular. Approximately 420 families lived in the Hill Central area in 1966. Today, approximately 160 families remain.

In March, 1968, a neighborhood meeting was held and the Hill Central housing was discussed. The architect presented a plan for staged demolition, the goal of this plan was to save as many houses as possible until new housing could be built. Ernest Osborne, then head of the Hill Project Office, summed up the meeting in a letter to the neighborhood on April 19.

"The concern about relocation of the families in Hill Central is shared by the neighborhood, the Redevelopment Agency, and the architect. In order to help meet relocation needs, Mr. Kahn has proposed a staging plan for construction in Hill Central. This plan would serve:

1. to minimize the number of families requiring relocation at any one time, and
2. to permit many families to remain in Hill Central, moving from their present homes to new or rehabilitated housing as it is completed.

The same evening, the Redevelopment Agency agreed to discontinue further demolition and relocation in Hill Central until Mr. Kahn returns and definite plans are agreed upon with residents of the community. This will continue to be the policy of the Redevelopment Agency."

Although the Hill Neighborhood Corp. was organized in the Spring of 1968, the Agency demolished approximately 15 buildings during the summer without notifying the Board of the Corporation.

In the late summer, the Urban Renewal Committee of the HNC was formed and the question of the Hill Central housing was again raised. The neighborhood, through the Committee, suggested rehabilitation for all the Hill Central houses until

GROUPS AND PEOPLE SUPPORTING HNC ACTION

AIM

Dwight Concerned Citizens
Hill Health Center
Yale School of Medicine (some students)
Yale School of Architecture (some students)
Hew Haven Clergy and Laymen Concerned
About the War in Vietnam
Christian Community Action
Yale SDS
FISH

Latin Council

Yale School of Public Health (some students)
Coalition of Concerned Citizens
Council on Community Affairs
Human Relations Council
Fair Haven Betterment Association
First United Methodist Church
Prince School
Black Coalition
Hill Parents Association
Connecticut Mental Health Center
United Newhallville Organization
Episcopal Church Mission Association
Community Housing, Inc.
Black Workshop
Hill Ministerial Alliance
Student Health Organization
Southern Connecticut State College
(SWO and IAG)
Willard and Ola Uphaus

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land clearance was absolutely necessary for new construction.

On September 30, 1968, John Daniels, head of the Hill Project Office, announced to the Urban Renewal Committee the Agency's intention to rehabilitate four Hill Central buildings, including 254 Putnam St. These buildings were never rehabili-

tated; while sitting vacant, they were stripped of all their plumbing and heating facilities. In some cases, boilers and fuel tanks were removed.

In order to preserve the vacant buildings, the neighborhood requested the Redevelopment Agency on Sept. 30 to hire guards for the Hill Central area. This re-

quest was refused.

On Oct. 3, Charles Shannon, Executive Director of the Redevelopment Agency, sent a letter to the Hill Neighborhood Corp. promising that:

"Demolition of buildings owned by the Redevelopment Agency will not be undertaken in the future without consultation with the Renewal Committee and the Neighborhood Corporation. As you know, there will undoubtedly be cases in which the health and safety of the community would be adversely affected by the retention of a vacant building. There may also be some cases where the cost of temporary repair is exorbitant and the expenditure of public funds to repair a vacant building for short-term use would be unwarranted. In any event, before any properties are demolished, for whatever reasons, we will present the pertinent facts to the Renewal Committee and Neighborhood Corp. "[see reproduction of letter, this page.]

The members of the Urban Renewal Committee inspected all of the vacant buildings and apartments in the Hill Central area in October and recommended that all but a few be rehabilitated. Four of the buildings recommended for rehabilitation, then, are now on the Fire Marshal's list for demolition.

On October 21, the committee asked the Redevelopment Agency to rehabilitate all but two of the partially occupied buildings in the Hill Central area and the Agency did some rehabilitation in these buildings. However, the vacant buildings remained vacant and deteriorated rapidly.

On Tuesday, Jan. 14 and Wednesday, Jan. 15, committee members inspected all the vacant buildings in Hill Central, including 252 and 254 Putnam St. On Wednesday night, there was a fire of suspicious origin in 252 Putnam St.

The committee members would have made their recommendations at the regular Monday night meeting. However, on Friday, Jan. 17, the staff of the HNC discovered that the Fire Marshal had condemned 11 buildings and requested the Redevelopment Agency to demolish them.

There is no longer any basis of trust between the Hill neighborhood and the Re-

(cont. on back page)

WELFARE THEN AND NOW

An Interview With Vicki Mittlefeldt, who is a community organizer for the Connecticut Mental Health Center. She has lived in the Hill section of New Haven for four years. During this time she has been concerned with the issue of welfare in many different ways.
by Dave Tobis

Q: When did the current welfare laws come into being?

A: The current welfare laws are an outgrowth of many welfare laws that previously existed within the United States and Europe. There has never been any drastic change in the laws themselves although minor changes have been made.

During the feudal ages the Church took care of the poor: vagabonds, ex-soldiers and people who had no place to live. The Church was empowered to levy a tax on the nobles in order to give food and lodging to these people. During that time it was considered good not to have worldly possessions, which is basically different from our outlook today. To be poor was not something which was looked down upon. After the feudal ages with the development of the mercantile system and the growth of towns, the nobles gained the power to tax. They used these taxes to provide capital for investment rather than using it to support poor people or for community development though these were two of the original purposes of the tax. The transference of the ability to tax from the Church to the noblemen was a reflection of the change in the distribution of economic power; from clerical to secular and from public to private. The poor, unable to tax or acquire capital in other ways, remained poor. A greater disparity therefore developed between the rich and the poor. At the same time, the middle class emerged as a group which was unable to tax but was able to receive money from the poor (and acquire capital) through their businesses.

As capitalism developed in England much of the land was bought up, closed off and fenced in by the landowners. For many people this eliminated the possibility of living off the land. Around 1508 to the beginning of the 1600's (the period of the British Poor Laws), there were many urban poor whom the State claimed they were unable to support. Based in part on

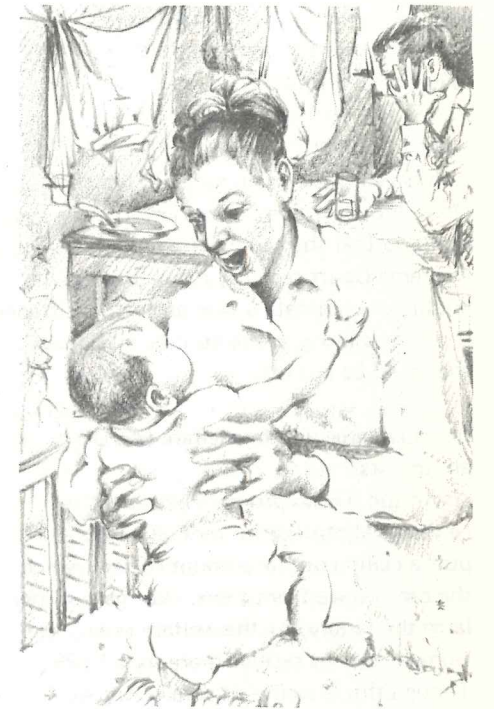
the Puritan ethic that people are responsible for each other, the State felt a responsibility for the poor. To that end the State allowed the poor to beg to gain money, provided that they obtained a license. People were given licenses to beg, only if they fit into certain categories: mentally ill, aged, a mother with children (and no husband). These categories were based on a belief that there were worthy and unworthy poor. If you were a sturdy, able bodied person, you could not get a license. Such a person who had debts or could not provide for himself was sent to prison or to a work house to pay off his debts. The Puritan ethic, that one must work to earn money, is clearly seen in the development of these laws.

When the colonies were developing, a very strong Puritan ethic accompanied the church groups to America. The towns began to take on the responsibility for the poor. This responsibility was a continuation of what had developed in England. If a person was born in a town in England in the 1600's and moved away and became poor somewhere else, the town where he was born would be responsible. This made it difficult to change residences.

Likewise in the colonies, if a husband had died in a fight with the Indians, the wife and children would be the responsibility of the town. Originally the wife and child were auctioned off to various families and in essence became indentured servants. Because there was such a large proportion of poor people coming over to the colonies, this solution of taking care of poor people by selling them to the rich, did not work very well.

The system of categories of poor (worthy vs. unworthy) also began to develop in the colonies. Part of the local tax money was appropriated to take care of indigent children, to develop children's homes and to establish mental institutions. These mental institutions were used not only for the insane, but also for those unworthy poor who were labeled as unproductive members of the community.

Our present welfare system is simply a more sophisticated arrangement of what had been established in England and the colonies. There are still residency requirements and the basic system of categorizing people as worthy and unworthy poor based



drawings by Al Shundi

on the amount of work they can do still continues. In addition, today if you cannot work and have to receive assistance you are seen as a less productive member of society and therefore do not have the right to receive as much money or benefits as someone who is working. Thus the welfare allotments continue to be lower than the salaries of people who do work.

Q: What are the different forms of welfare, and to whom do the current laws apply?

A: There are many categories of welfare: aid to the disabled, to the blind, the aged, Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC). Anyone who is living in the United States is eligible to receive welfare, however there are strict eligibility requirements which one has to meet. In Connecticut for instance, you have to prove that you do not have an outside source of income nor have relatives who will support you. With medicaid however, it is possible to get medical assistance if you are employed but earning below a certain income. In addition, new programs are developing, for instance the Father in the Home program. Under this arrangement the mother who has been receiving AFDC could continue to receive assistance for her children if she remarries and the step-

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Robert L. Dolezal, Deputy Director

October 3, 1968

Mr. Theodore Lettes
Chairman, Renewal Committee
Hill Neighborhood Corporation
195 Washington Avenue
New Haven, Connecticut

Dear Mr. Lettes:

This is to confirm the assurances I gave to the Hill Neighborhood Corporation Renewal Committee at the meeting held on September 5.

The Agency's positions on the seven points are listed in the same order as these points appeared on the Agenda for the meeting:

- a) Demolition of buildings owned by the Redevelopment Agency will not be undertaken in the future without consultation with the Renewal Committee and the Neighborhood Corporation. As you know, there will undoubtedly be cases in which the health and safety of the community would be adversely affected by the retention of a vacant building. There may also be some cases where the cost of temporary repair is exorbitant and the expenditure of public funds to repair a vacant building for short-term use would be unwarranted. In any event, before any properties are demolished, for whatever reasons, we will present the pertinent facts to the Renewal Committee and Neighborhood Corporation....
- f) The Agency will keep the neighborhood informed of actual demolition schedules. I would appreciate your suggestions on the methods your Committee feels should be used to keep the neighborhood informed....

I believe this fully and accurately restates the commitments and assurances given by me at the September 5 meeting of the Renewal Committee. If you have any questions or comments, I would be pleased to discuss them with you

Sincerely,

Charles I. Shannon
Charles I. Shannon
Executive Director

Excerpts from the letter in which the city agreed to consult with HNC before destroying any more houses in the Hill.

father does not earn enough to support the total family.

Q: What effect has the current welfare laws had on family relations?

A: The present rules of welfare have helped to cause families to break apart. For instance, if a man is not making enough money and wants to stay in the house tension develops between him and his wife. One of the solutions is for him to leave the home so that she can exist on welfare. The Supreme Court recently ruled that you could not eliminate a woman from assistance if a man is living in the home; previously she could be cut off.

Q: How large are the welfare (AFDC) allotments?

A: In the AFDC program a mother receives an allotment for rent. The State puts a ceiling on the amount of rent which she can receive from them. No matter how large the family, by the welfare policy the woman can not receive more than \$125. Though this is welfare's administrative policy, because rents are so high, they have to pay more than the ceiling if no cheaper apartments are available. For instance, welfare pays \$75 for rent for a woman with two children. In New Haven it is impossible to get an apartment for that amount of money so the woman must go over the ceiling. The social worker and the welfare department however, will put pressure on her to reject more expensive apartments in order to have her find something cheaper. The social worker, constrained by the welfare system through close supervision and other bureaucratic structures, must work in the interest of the welfare depart-

ment and not in the interest of the "client".

There is a long list of items for which a woman receives bimonthly welfare allotments: food, rent, utilities, etc. Until this year, for electricity per month a family might get \$3.00. Electricity, however, often goes above that. Previously one had to make up the difference from money somewhere else in the check. Now if you paid the amount which welfare gives for electricity they will make up the difference.

Each person in a family is allocated a certain amount of money for food according to age. A child nine years old is allowed less food per day than an adult. It averages about 61 cents per day per person. A monthly clothing allowance is included in the budget. Welfare allows a woman to have two pairs of underpants, two bras and two dresses. They include a clothing allowance to insure that a woman is up to this standard. The allowance is approximately eight dollars a month per woman. Usually that eight dollars is used for something else: for example to buy a hot lunch in school for the kids, a newspaper, the movies, a Christmas present, taking a bus, since there is no allotment for any of these things. With so little money for clothes a woman is forced to buy very cheap merchandise so one is continually in a process of never having anything which lasts and never having enough money to invest in something that would last.

The daily life on welfare is a constant struggle of trying to get enough money together to exist the next day. One has to be able to budget money extremely well to exist on welfare.

Q: How often do welfare allotments go up?

A: Until 1966, for example, the amount of money given for gas was based on the 1959 prices. Though the price of gas had risen, the allotments had not. After tremendous pressure from welfare recipients, a Cost of Living Commission for Connecticut was set up. The responsibility of that commission is very nebulous. The Commission and Commissioner Shapiro of the State Welfare Department battle back and forth as to who has responsibility for what. As it stands now the Cost of Living Commission only has the task of determining the cost of various articles. (The Cost of Living Commission is required by law to meet once a year and that is all they have been doing. The checks usually go up 3% across the board every October after their annual meeting.) Shapiro insists that it is the Cost of Living Commission's responsibility to change the standards. However, last April the Commission voted that their sole responsibility was to price clothing and food according to standards set by the State Commissioner. The Commissioner has kept a group of organized welfare mothers running back and forth from his office to the Cost of Living Commission with his denials that it is his responsibility to change standards. In fact, Shapiro has the power to change policy — not law. But it is Shapiro's interpretation of the law that determines the cost and quantity of clothing that people receive.

Q: Where do the funds for welfare come from?

A: State welfare is funded 75% by the federal government, 25% by the State.

Q: How many people receive AFDC welfare?

A: There are five million families headed by women in the US and one million of those families are presently receiving AFDC. However, there is an equal number of people who qualify for some form of financial assistance from the state but are not receiving it.

Q: Can a mother work while on welfare?

A: If a mother wants to work she can keep an initial \$30 per month plus one third of the remaining salary, but the rest she must turn over to the state. This allows for very little incentive to get off welfare.

Q: How well does welfare live up to its own standards?

A: When the Hill-Dwight Moms in New Haven began their protest to change the



clothing standards not one of the mothers in that group was receiving the required State welfare allotment. Some of the differences were as large as several hundred dollars in clothing allowances. Part of this difference is due to the tremendous inefficiency of the way the welfare department administers its policies. A social worker has a tremendous case load with a lot of paper work and many emergencies which she has to deal with (for instance the heat being turned off in a building) so that she

does not have time to go around and make sure that everyone is brought up to standard. And if she were interested in doing so, the welfare department is not particularly interested that she do so, nor does it create an environment in which she feels free to do that.

Q: What type of organizing has been going on with the Welfare MOMS and what was their approach?

A: Four of us began organizing around the issue of welfare. It was a pre-chosen issue by us and by the Mental Health Center.* It was chosen because it was seen as a winnable issue and an issue over which many people were concerned. About 150 mothers formed into a group around the basic issue of the need for more money. To win more money would be a victory but there are other issues at stake for the Welfare MOMS. The issue is who controls the agencies and how do these agencies function in keeping people human. For instance, if the mothers were to take over the welfare system, they could do it in two

*The Mental Health Center is interested in welfare because of their belief that primary prevention of mental illness in high illness areas, will be facilitated by powerless people directing their own lives.

A WELFARE MOM SPEAKS

The following is a continuation of our coverage of the founding convention of the Caucus of Connecticut Democrats, a group which hopes to combine the Kennedy and McCarthy forces into a permanent reform organization. Rick Wolff, chairing the Economic Rights Workshop, introduced Mrs. Louise Harris as one of the founding organizers of the People's Social Action Committee, pointing out that she had participated in a number of direct actions and, "while she's probably too modest to say so, is something of a heroine in her own right."

The speech began by referring to the demands made to Welfare Commissioner Shapiro in Hartford on September 14, 1966, by the People's Social Action Committee, a state-wide group formed to try to bring justice, human dignity, and acceptance to the recipients of welfare in Connecticut. (See AIM Newsletter, Oct. 4, 1966.) Shapiro had originally refused to meet with representatives of the Committee

and other poor people's groups, describing the representatives as a "mob"; and while he finally agreed to meet with them in September 1966, some of the most basic demands have not yet been met. Mrs. Harris continued:

I am not an active participant now, as I was before, because of the fact that I'm attending college as a full-time day student along with taking care of several children; so that has limited my community activities somewhat.

However, first of all, in order to participate in an Economic Rights Workshop in December, 1968, and particularly as it related to the Connecticut Welfare System, I feel that it's essential to go back to the demands made to the people of Connecticut and to Welfare Commissioner Shapiro on Sept. 14, 1966, by the People's Social Action Committee.

As some of you may know, this is a state-wide group that formed in 1966 in order to try to bring justice, human dignity, and acceptance to the recipients

of welfare in Connecticut. You may further recall that there was first an abortive attempt to see and speak with Mr. Shapiro publicly with the people being able to hear and speak for themselves. Two weeks (more or less) later there was a successful attempt. We have also succeeded in having further meetings with Mr. Shapiro, with the newly established Cost of Living Commission, and also with the Legislature. However, even with all this new communication and awareness of recipients as people who have the right to human dignity, some of the most basic demands, or requests — for those of you who think that "demands" is too strong a word, particularly coming from powerless people — have not been met.

Q: Would you describe what that type of system might entail? What would be a more sane approach to welfare?

A: I feel that basically you can't make welfare better as a system. You can make it so that it gives out more money. You can extend it so that it becomes a program like the guaranteed annual income for people who are below a certain standard. However, that would continue to perpetuate the idea that those who work and earn a certain amount of money are better than those who don't work. It is a very limited definition of work. What I would like to see, though I'm not sure the welfare mothers presently agree with me, is the complete elimination of welfare as a system. Instead we must work towards a society where the basic needs of people like shelter, clothing and food and medical care are met, without people having to prove that they have those needs. These are automatic rights for everybody, including the President of Ford and a mother on Congress Avenue.



States government describes as necessary for a minimum standard of living. Some people who care for the poor work for the Welfare Department, but on the whole the welfare system makes any recipient feel that poverty is a crime and that he is not as good as other people.

I would say that this statement is as true today as it was when first made in 1966, with the exception of the payments or allowances. There have been two increases in payments since then, one estimated by the Department as 13%, which was made in 1967; then there was a 5% increase in 1968. But we want you to realize this: Just as the cost-of-living index has risen for you, so has it risen for the poor: and the adjustments made still do not meet the lawful requirement for minimum adequate standard of living. There is still not enough money given to meet the increased cost of food, clothing, utilities, laundry, and rent. The standards set for the various appliances — clothing, etc. — does not reflect the actual cost.

There are other areas which we consider very important for people to think about and act upon. One, there is the continuing demand that must be met: The full cost of rent and utilities must be paid. Second, and perhaps most important, good and adequate housing must be supplied. Even with the recent legislation passed with regard to housing, and with our rent control law, the state still faces its greatest losses in the payments made to slum landlords. It pays an over-compensation for drafty, rat- and roach-infested houses: it pays an increased health cost for the people living in these inadequate shelters; it pays for the mental attitude impressed upon the minds of the recipients.

We propose allowing recipients to obtain an equity in their dwellings through home-ownership when and wherever possible. We suggest that this might be a great support in keeping families together and in changing their self-concept.

This brings us to another basic premise: attitudinal changes. Attitudinal changes can and must take place in people serving those on welfare. Some of the chief offenders are the banks, which cash checks and sell food stamps and the utility companies, who terminate services very abruptly and even more horrendously, after business hours; I refer specifically

WE MOURN JOHN HUGGINS

Many of us knew John Huggins, the Black Panther captain who was shot down last week in Los Angeles. The article which is reprinted below in his honor, was written by John for the AIM Newsletter in 1966 when he was working with the HPA and the Fred Harris for State Assembly campaign. John's description of his Vietnam experiences was so vivid that it was later used in the AIM Mobile Theater. An article by John's uncle, Courtland Wilson of the New Haven NAACP, will appear in the next issue.

I was in Vietnam, on an aircraft carrier. Most of the time I was in CIC, Combat Information Center. It's a dark room, a very large room, dark so you can see the radar. When we were on Yankee Station, that's the north station for the fleet, my job was to help direct the pilots. That's all I did for 45 days. Yeah, it was boring. I'd stand watch for five hours on and ten hours off.

We never really had any feeling about killing people. Even the pilots, most of them just go ahead with orders. They really don't sit down and think about what they're doing. Why do they drop their bombs?

There's no sense in flying with those bombs unless you drop them. Constantly you've been learning how to use those weapons, and you've never had an outlet. Now here's an outlet. So you do your job. That's what you're in the Navy for.

There's no way of knowing how many people get killed in raids. I don't think the pilots knew. They would bomb roads in the day, and at night hundreds of women and children would work filling up the craters with sand. So the planes would drop flares and come in low and strafe them. That was the big joke of the fleet. Here were those poor Orientals trying to fill the roads by hand and we with our machines could mow them down. I guess it showed the supremacy of White America or something.

Most of the time you didn't have any real feeling of war and you weren't afraid. The only threat to the fleet was either long range bombers or PT boats. The people we bombed couldn't fight back.

In Hong Kong and Japan, all the ship's personnel go over for rest and recreation. A lot of sailors go to the bars — the white bars and black bars are in different places — where there are bar girls that they can take home. When the white sailors get back to the ship they start talking about the women as "gooks" and "chinks". In the Philippines they call them "monkeys," because they're darker and a little shorter, I guess. I just wondered what they called me behind my back.

In one sense the war was good for us. I think that when a lot of black servicemen get back, they'll really be mad. They've been fighting these battles overseas against colored people. When they come home they won't like being deprived of their rights. Like when I was over there I heard about the bombing of a church in Mississippi and the little girls that were killed. Personally, all I could do was to cry. But I wished that I had been sent to Mississippi rather than Vietnam.

You know why the armed forces were integrated, don't you. After the Second World War, the advisors to the President and to the High Command recommended that integration would be best because any future conflict that the United States would fight would be against colored people and if they had black divisions these people might find it hard to fight against colored people, be they yellow or brown or whatever. There might be large-scale defections.

Being in the service was a good experience for me. I mean a bad experience that enlightened me.

to the gas company. These attitudinal changes must also come about in some, not all, of the professional tax-payers who service the poor, such as doctors, dentists, social workers, etc.

We have touched very lightly on some aspects of the welfare system. Time, and other circumstances, do not permit

an in-depth discussion. In conclusion, it is my firm belief that the entire welfare system must be abolished and a new and more equitable method found to provide for our poor, old, ill, and needy — a method that will allow everyone to live up to his full potential as a human being and an American citizen.

REVOLUTION

by Bob Cook (Beatles, Capitol SWBO-101)

Like Bob Dylan, the Beatles make trends don't follow them. While everyone else was getting deeper into electronic rock, Dylan gave us *John Wesley Harding*. And now that record jacket designs have gone about as far out as they can go, the Beatles come on with plain white, so pure you can hardly tell what it is — except that you can't miss it in the record racks among the vibrating psychedelia (though you might confuse it with the Stones' *Beggar's Banquet*, almost as clean graphically with light gold lettering on all white).

Musically, too, they are, with Dylan, the leaders. Now, on this two record set, they take us on a tour of pop styles over the last 30 years. They do it very well. While demonstrating their technical virtuosity, they also display amazing musical sensitivity and creativity. They don't just copy a style — they evoke it while at the same time moving beyond it. Listen especially to them rock on these sides — like "Back in the USSR", "Why Don't We Do It In The Road", or "Yer Blues".

You can take the Beatles on many levels. Play them, listen casually, and it's fun. Listen closer — it's beautiful and intriguing. Listen again and deeper, shifting meanings begin to emerge. "Blackbird" for example, is really pretty. But it also seems to be a tribute to the black musicians from whom the Beatles have learned so much:

*Blackbird singing in the dead of night,
Take these broken wings and learn to fly.
All your life*

You were only waiting for this moment to arise.

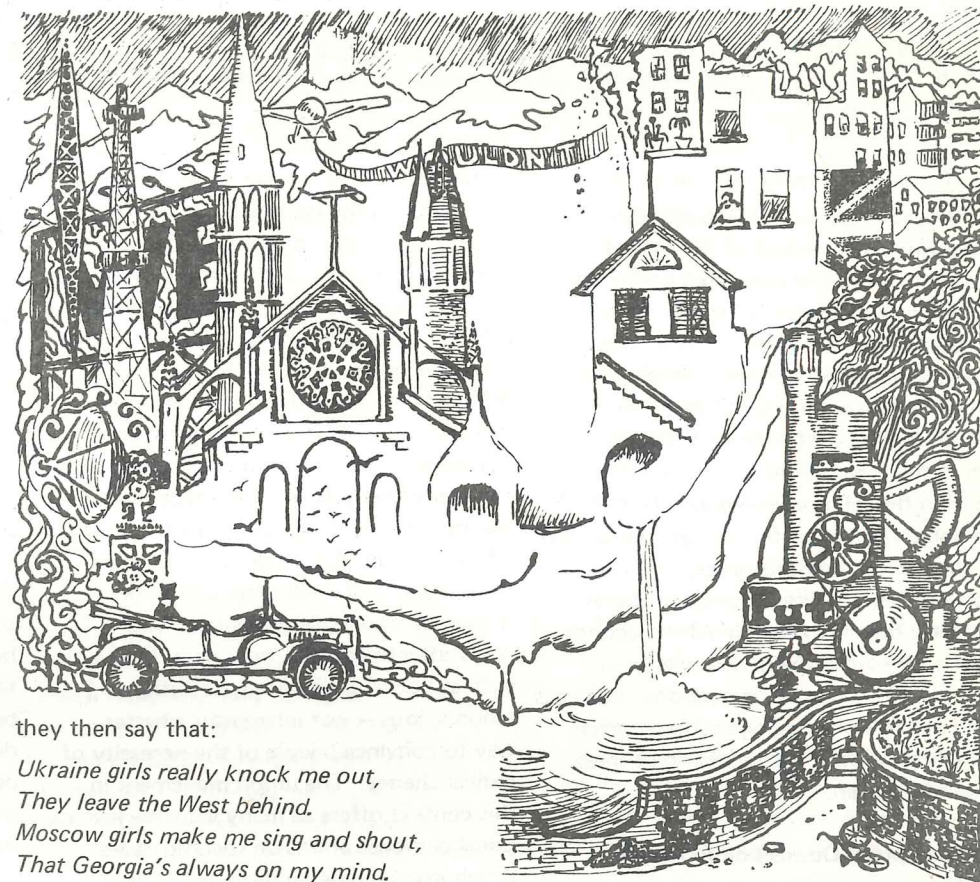
*Take these sunken eyes and learn to see.
All your life*

You were only waiting for this moment to be free.

*Blackbird fly
Into the light of the dark black night.*

That's clear enough. But are they serious, or just putting us on when they say that "Happiness is a warm gun, yes it is"? "Rocky Raccoon" is for Dylan, but are they cutting his search for meaning by saying "he fell back in his room, only to find Gideon's Bible"?

In the phrase "Back in the US, Back in the USSR" they seem to equate the two. But the song is for Chuck Berry, and



they then say that:

*Ukraine girls really knock me out,
They leave the West behind.
Moscow girls make me sing and shout,
That Georgia's always on my mind.*

Double meanings expand to keep us guessing for a long time.

Where do the Beatles stand politically? On the single, "Revolution", they answered that "when you talk about destruction, don't you know you can count me out — it's gonna be alright." Now on "Revolution 1" ("take two"), in the album, they say "don't you know you can count me out, in — it's gonna be *shoo-be-do* alright!" In *Bungalow Bill* there is "the all American bullet-headed saxon mother's son", and in "Piggies" the "little piggies crawling in the dirt" find that "bigger piggies stirring up the dirt always have clean shirts to play in". Then there is "Revolution 9", a sound montage with a myriad of clues for the curious.

Personally, I doubt the validity of much detailed textual analysis of pop music. The sounds stand by themselves; there is no need for overinterpretation. Neither the Beatles nor the rest of pop will transform this country or tell us how to do it.

But they may be doing more than we realize on a cultural level. More than anything else, their music is **American**; these are **our** styles. Without Chuck Berry and Elvis Presley and all the rest there would be no Beatles. Their beautiful simplicity,

which evokes in each of us what we want to hear, comes not from European classicists but from American roots — Lightnin Hopkins, John Rogers, the Carter Family. The Beatles, on these records, are filling the air with our sounds.

And to make Americans aware of their past, their music, and their culture is to attack the king pins of US imperialism — the identification of our culture with that of the ruling capitalist elite. Their culture is pseudo-aristocratic and bastardized European. Because we are taught to be ashamed of our own past and our people, our music has had to go to Europe to be certified before it could be accepted at home (Charles Lloyd in jazz and Jack Elliot in folk are recent examples).

Now the Beatles are telling us its yours baby, take it. "Oh honey pie, you are driving me frantic, sail across the Atlantic to where you belong". "You ask me for a contribution, well you know, we're doing all we can". We're "Bringing it all back home" as Dylan says. Get that: the American Dream, the American revolution, all men are created equal — **we're bringing it all back home where it belongs!**

Now if all that's too much, just put on Harrison, "While My Guitar Gently Weeps", and enjoy.

ON MARCHES AND COALITIONS

by Peter Rose

Several people (including me) who have been working with AIM went to Washington, D.C. for the Counter-Inaugural activities, during the weekend of January 18. These activities were sponsored and organized by the National Mobilization to End the War in Vietnam (Mobe). The occasion raised a number of questions which people in the Movement, and specifically people in AIM, should start to think hard about — such as the possibilities of liberal-radical coalition, the relation of groups like AIM to a national movement for radical change, and the function of demonstrations. These questions tend to overlap and, insofar as they have been discussed in AIM meetings, there is very wide diversity of views on them. I offer here my own random thoughts, based on my own reading and experience, in the hope of making discussion of these issues more open.

Wide-Spread Opposition to MOBE

Many radical groups across the country — such as SDS — and several important movement publications — such as the *Guardian* — openly rejected or seriously questioned the point of a demonstration in Washington. Their objections were in some cases ideological, based on such reasoning as: 1) demonstrations not only fail to reach, but positively alienate blue-collar workers who must be reached more effectively if real change is to come about, or 2) past demonstrations have been based on a false coalition of moralist-reformist oriented liberals with explicitly anti-capitalist, anti-imperialist radicals, and have therefore failed to present either the participants or the public at large with a clear message. Other objections concerned Mobe's "failures" in Chicago, and alleged organizational incompetence or violation of principles of participatory democracy in planning strategy. Liberal groups on the other hand were, as far as I could tell, simply frightened by the possibility of violence as well as repelled by some aspects of youth culture as manifested at Chicago in some experiments in new ways of communicating.

Personal Reactions

My own thinking about this demon-

stration underwent many turnabouts and is still rather fluid. After participating in the march on the Pentagon in October 1967, I was ready to swear off demonstrations. No speakers said anything I hadn't heard before, and I felt — particularly as I read the news coverage of the event — that we had been cruelly kidding ourselves in thinking we were either reaching the war-makers or the public at large with any "message" at all. Directly confronted by our real powerlessness in the face of tear gas, billy clubs, rifles, and bayonets, I was left in a mood of deep despair for a long time. I felt that AIM's increasing concentration of its energies on issues which really affect people in their daily lives — such as housing, highways, pollution, schools, jobs — was inherently a better way to convince people of the necessity of radical change. The union movement in this context offers us many valuable lessons. Local demonstrations on specific issues which inspire wide public support, and which make clear demands on those with power, can be effective when related to an ongoing organization with long-range goals. The trouble with mass anti-Vietnam War demonstrations in the past has been that they tended to be taken as a substitute for an ongoing organized effort to bring about the changes which would not only end that war, but preclude similar wars against self-determination both abroad and in the ghettos of the USA.

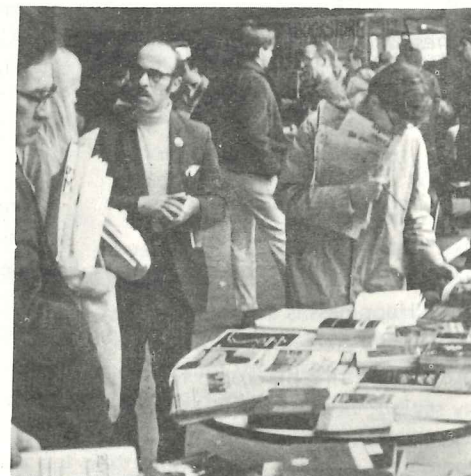
However, the AIM congressional campaign of '68 brought home to many of us the necessity to be more clearly related to a nationwide movement. While we must devote most of our energies to issues relevant to New Haveners, our final credibility and our long-range hopes for radical change depend on our being more than a New Haven group or even a Connecticut group. Though I felt this need, I did not for a long time see it in relation to the planned Mobe activity.

AIM's Positions

AIM's reaction to the Mobe was all too haphazard. Because Bob Cook is our most visible spokesman, the local TV station asked his opinion of the demonstration. There had been no discussion of the issue at AIM meetings, and he obviously

had no opportunity to consult with anyone. He was left with the option of an easily misinterpreted "no comment" or a personal statement which would be taken as the AIM position. He spoke favorably of the goal of continuing to keep before the public mind the reality of strong anti-war sentiment in the face of footdragging and double-talk in Paris, while bombing in South Vietnam was being escalated. After some hesitation, I found myself increasingly in agreement with the goal of continued

public demonstrations in opposition to the war. A strongly anti-Mobe article in the *Guardian* (Jan. 4, 1969), which in part criticized the effort to win back liberals by returning to disciplined, non-violent tactics, had the effect of confirming my belief in the wisdom of that tactic. If we do not make the mistake of substituting demonstrations for the Movement, we should recognize and accept the fact that demonstrations by powerless people can only succeed in making an impression on those in power by sheer numbers. To turn out numbers, some guarantees that you are not interested in getting people's heads smashed is very much to the point. The Mobe, by stressing its desire to avoid violent confrontation and by placing main emphasis on a Sunday march which was no physical threat to the actual Inauguration on Monday, seemed to me correct. The hundreds of thousands who went to the gala demonstration in New York on April 15, 1967 are still against the war, and despite the confusion caused by the bombing halt and the non-talks in Paris, I felt



Exchange of literature and ideas can take place at national demonstrations.

that a properly organized and publicized march could still turn out many of them.

Liberal-Radical Coalition?

Here the issue of liberal-radical coalition comes to the fore. My own feeling, contrary to the *Guardian* and many radicals is that single-issue coalitions are valid and potentially fruitful if there is not a mistaken effort to blur ideological differences. It is not the unwillingness of liberals to listen to an anti-capitalist analysis of the war that alienated them from demonstrations, but fear of violence and intolerance of life styles which include "bizarre" dress and "obscene" language. Since it is also true that in matters of style blue-collar workers are even more conservative, we should at least consider whether our more important goals dictate some discipline and restraint in manners. Among these goals, to be sure, are an alternate life-style, but it is at least open to question whether mass public demonstrations are an effective means to convey the life-style message. They clearly can be good vehicles for political messages, and here again the analogy to the union movement is instructive.

Given the foregoing assumptions, I attempted — with nearly total lack of success — to put theory into practice. I set out to bring the McCarthy-Kennedy liberals into participating in the Mobe action. I checked with the Caucus of Connecticut Democrats (CCD) office in New Haven in hopes they would take on the job of organizing busses. Although AIM people had by now discussed the demonstration and seemed more or less lukewarmly to support it, the simple fact of our expanded activities (renewal, school, press, pollution, etc.) meant we didn't have the manpower available to do the kind of job we did for the April 15 Mobilization when over 1,000 New Haveners went to New York. The CCD office people expressed some interest, but said their organization was too hierarchical for them to strike out on their own. I called Joe Duffey, one of the interim co-chairmen of the organization. The CCD is in the process of electing representatives to a constituent assembly which will adopt a constitution, elect an executive board, and make some decisions on policy directions. For this reason Duffey stressed that it was impossible for him to speak for the organization, since in effect

it did not yet really exist. He was, however, personally in favor of an orderly and peaceful demonstration in Washington, and we agreed on getting out a statement in support of the Mobe Counter-Inauguration. Time was short by then, but we made an effort to get a good cross-section of peace movement signers. The statement stressed that each signer signed only from personal conviction and not on behalf of his organization. The list included Bob Cook of New Haven AIM, Steve Minot of 6th District AIM, Frank Dumont, a co-chairman of the Concerned Clergy and Laymen, John Barber of the Hill Parents' Association, Louise Harris, another Black militant who has been working with the People's Action Committee, and Joe Lieberman, head of the Kennedy Action Core, an interim co-chairman of the CCD and a member of the executive board of the New Haven Reform Democrats. I had some hopes of being able to raise the approximately \$600 required to mail out the statement to a state-wide mailing list of nearly 11,000, representing all shades of peace people in Connecticut; but both lack of funds and loss of time in getting final agreement on the signers led to nothing more than a measly press release which did not appear until the Wednesday before the demonstration. Its impact on people's decision to actually participate was consequently nil. However, I found the experience very instructive. As a result, I felt that the basic strategy of coalition on the single issue of the war was still valid, but required a great deal more foresight and advance planning than my last-minute efforts.

Workshops and Communication

As for the actual events of the weekend, there were far more serious drawbacks which resulted from AIM's failure to think through and act upon its views of the Counter-Inauguration. Only toward the end of the week did some of us think seriously about participating in the workshops. By Friday, when it was clearly too late, I began to feel strongly that the workshops were potentially the most meaningful part of the weekend for AIM. As a group we have had two years worth of experience in a very wide range of political activities, and we have a responsibility to share that experience with others across the country.

There were some 45 workshops planned for Saturday, covering such things as draft-

counseling, news media, political theater, electoral party politics, women's liberation, campus protest, unions, the black liberation struggle, several on foreign policy and domestic economic structure. As a group we have something to contribute and much to learn in all these areas, and if we are serious about the need to improve communication and consensus among all those in the country committed to radical change, such national gatherings should be recognized as one important means of carrying forward that strategy. The best we were able to do was lug down a large suitcase full of AIM newsletters which we distributed free and engage in a few valuable conversations with individuals milling around in the school where the workshops were held. I saw signs for a group which is also called Co-AIM (Committee for an Anti-Imperialist Movement) and talked with a member from Baltimore. They are just beginning to think about working against a monstrous freeway slated to wipe out a vast amount of housing. A workshop on New Political Parties never even took place. Apparently no one had agreed to lead a discussion and the room assigned was taken over as a sleeping and smoking room — complete with an instant psychedelic window painting. The resulting atmosphere was not conducive to political discussion.

The Public Image: Obscene?

The rally, march, and counter-Inaugural ball on Sunday were characterized by far more explicitly radical rhetoric and slogans than earlier marches I have seen, but also, as far as I observed, by more discipline and little inclination for confrontation. I had to return to New Haven Monday morning, and was able to see only part of Nixon's Inaugural Parade on television. Walter Cronkite moaned about the obscenities shouted by demonstrators and applauded the wisdom of police who took away all peace signs as potential weapons. Since I feel there is nothing more obscene in this country than our war in Vietnam, my initial reaction was simple rage at Cronkite. But his reaction brings me back to the tactical question of demonstrations and the directions of the movement in general.

Final Pontifications

In the future, I feel we in AIM must accept our responsibility to think through our relationship to any future such mobilizations as soon as possible and act vigor-

(cont. on back page)

MARINE GETS C.O. (with a little help from his friends) by Tom Martin

On December 14 an action that started out looking like an aborted demonstration became an exercise in participatory democracy that focused enough public attention on the cause of Jack Robinson to help gain his discharge as a conscientious objector from the Marine Corps.

Last summer Jack Robinson was among the "Nine for Peace" who resigned from the armed forces to express their moral outrage at the war in Vietnam. The Marine Corps attempted to remove Jack from contact with the outside world while holding him for court martial in the stockade at Camp Pendleton, California. A hastily organized demonstration by his West Coast supporters prevented that.

After court martial he was transferred to the Navy brig at Portsmouth, New Hampshire. When Jack undertook a fast to emphasize his opposition to the war, the brig officials responded by refusing to allow him visitors, increasing his work load, and refusing to treat his recurrent kidney ailment. Thus, over a period of five weeks he lost approximately 60 pounds. Adding to his problems, the reviewing authorities cancelled the Bad Conduct discharge that was to follow his imprisonment. This meant that upon release from jail he would be returned to active duty and have to go through the whole thing again.

At this point, the Boston Resistance, remembering the good effects of the California demonstration, put out a call for anti-war groups from Maine to Connecticut to join in a similar action. Saturday morning, Dec. 14, people from the Boston and Maine Resistances, New England Committee for Non-Violent Action, and New Haven Draft Action Group/Resistance collected

in the parking lot outside the gate of the Portsmouth Naval Correctional Institute, which is actually in Kittery, Maine. After a few local high school students and house wives joined the group it totaled about 35.

While one small group stayed up by the road with signs demanding Jack Robinson's release and condemning the war, the rest milled around in the parking lot and eventually formed a picket line. However, since a row of buildings blocked the view of the picket line from the road, and there was not much to be gained by picketing empty parked cars, the group reformed in a vigil line from the road towards the navy base.

Meanwhile, an officer, who identified himself as the prison commander, came out and talked to a few of the demonstrators. He said that Jack was being force fed and receiving adequate medical attention but he would not let any of the demonstrators in to verify that.

The group then called another strategy huddle. Names and addresses were exchanged and people started to drift away. Those in favor of a march through the town presently realized that they had better do something fast. So, they picked up the signs and headed out of the parking lot.

The first result of the impromptu march was the liberation of a cheerful, if somewhat startled, Kittery town policeman. When asked if he would accompany the march to help it through intersections without causing traffic problems, he protested, "I'm just the peon. You'll have to ask the sargent about that." Then, mumbling something about, "What intersections? What traffic?", he pointed out the end of Kittery a few thinly populated blocks up the hill and suggested that the march

could proceed unescorted without causing a public nuisance. The marchers agreed, thanked him for his trouble, and moved on up the hill.

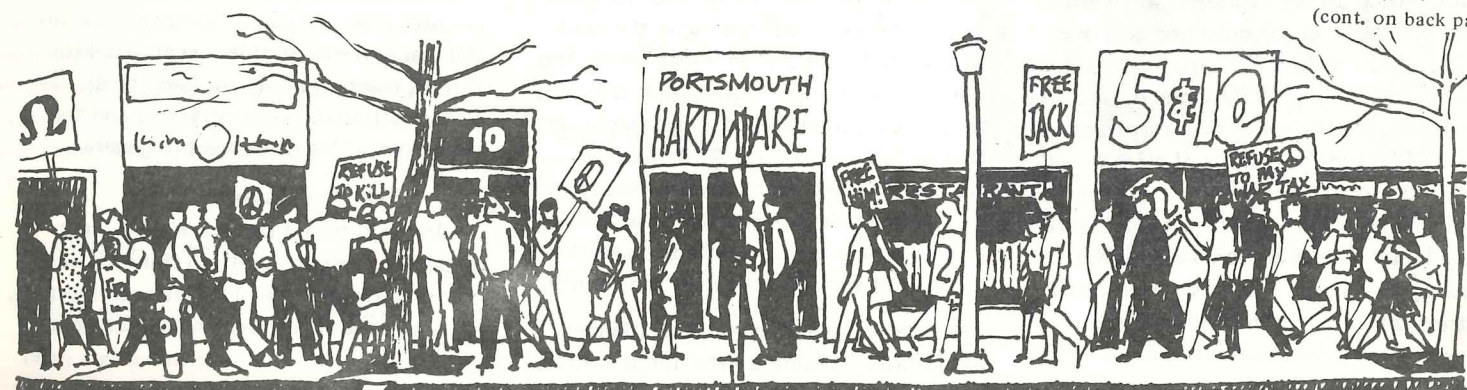
After the stragglers dropped out, the core group decided to march to the War Memorial Bridge linking Kittery, Maine, and Portsmouth, New Hampshire. When the march reached the bridge everyone was in favor of crossing into Portsmouth to educate the pre-Christmas shoppers to the plight of Jack Robinson.

One of the local people, a house-wife with a peace symbol around her neck, told the group that the Portsmouth police were very up-tight about demonstrations and would probably bust the group as soon as it crossed the bridge. By a sense of the meeting it was decided to proceed in as orderly a manner as possible and negotiate for a direct route to the center of town and back if confronted. As things turned out, the threat of a bust never materialized.

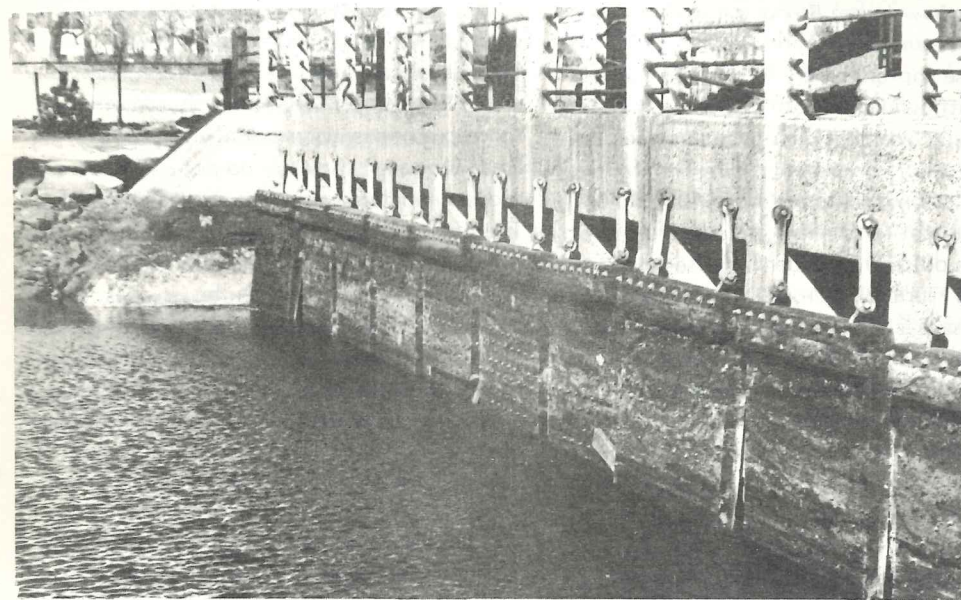
Before the march started moving again, some high school students with a base pass on their car said they would try to get through to see Jack. Although briefly coached by some of the marchers who had previous experience with military prison keepers, they got too excited and blew the trick. The marchers applauded their spunk anyway.

Meanwhile, the rest of the march proceeded into Portsmouth. A few policemen stared, but none interfered with the march. The crowds responded with a few of the usual compliments that hawks always have for peace marchers and a surprising number expressed agreement or curiosity. Most were just confused or too busy shopping to get involved. A couple of the CNVA people

(cont. on back page)



SPINELESS POLLUTION LAWS



The tidal gates on the Mill River at State Street shown here are in poor repair. At high tide they allow polluted water from downstream to flow into East Rock Park.

by Jerome Yesavage

The AIM pollution committee was formed to investigate pollution and other environmental problems in New Haven. We are currently engaged in a study of the causes of pollution in the Mill River, and how this pollution is affecting the lives of Fair Haven residents.

Through our research we hope to help citizens fight the air, water and noise pollution blighting their neighborhoods. The following article is aimed at giving people a working knowledge of the pollution laws applicable to the Mill River. It gives an analysis of just how these laws are being "enforced."

The Mill River stinks, stank, and will have stunk for decades, until it finally coagulates into a bog and squishes toward Long Island Sound like toothpaste. Anyone living in Fair Haven for over 20 years remembers when one could dive off the Lombard Street Bridge without fear of dissolving in the solution. However, in the past two or three decades the solution has changed from brackish seawater to dangerously polluted sludge.

Certainly the Mill River has not accomplished this metamorphosis alone. It's no secret that the industrious redevelopers of the river, its two paper companies, dump literally millions of gallons of waste into the stream every day. And yet, for years Connecticut has had "anti-pollution" laws

on its books. The latest of these laws, Public Act 57 or "An Act Concerning the Elimination of Pollution of the Waters of the State," has been in effect for almost two years, but still the pollution of the Mill River seems as blatant as ever. How can such pollution continue in direct violation of the laws of the state, and what is being done to correct the abuse?

Dempsey Acts

Governor Dempsey, theoretically, took the most concrete step that has ever been taken against water pollution in the state when he signed Public Act 57 into law. The bill that became Public Act 57, strangely enough, was not the product of legislative bickering, lobbying or backroom maneuvering, but was conceived by a committee of over one hundred private citizens from varying professions.

This "Clean Water Task Force" wrote a bill that, in the words of Governor Dempsey "...ushers in a new era in the treatment of our water resources. It embodies the concept that no one, whether individual, industry or community, has the right or privilege to render our water resources unusable by pollution."

Public Monies — Private Wastes

However, once one wades through the public relations icing of the act, one uncovers motives John D. Rockefeller Sr.

could not help but endorse. Buried in a fourteen line sentence of the introductory section of the act one finds that "...the use of public funds and the granting of tax exemptions for the purpose of controlling and eliminating such pollution is a public use and purpose for which public monies may be expended...."

This in effect, legalizes the use of public funds to pay a substantial part of the costs of new municipal sewage treatment facilities. These new treatment plants may be designed by the city involved to treat industrial wastes from plants in the municipality which, as of now, treat their own wastes. The frightening part of this prospect is that, for example, just the two paper mills on the Mill River produce wastes equal in volume to one fifth the combined totals for New Haven, Hamden and East Haven, and the costs of such additional treatment would run into millions.

Yet, is it not blatantly apparent that a bill endorsing the use of "public monies" for pollution abatement contradicts directly Governor Dempsey's statement that "...no one, whether individual, industry or community, has the right to render our water resources unusable by pollution."

In other words, while industry has no right to pollute our waters, the public should pay the costs of removing their pollution. However, it's not hard to understand how the Clean Water Task Force came to write such a bill, since one third of the committee are self-proclaimed industrialists.

The Law Itself

Yet, putting aside the motives and morality of the act, and assuming that the ends



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justify the means, Public Act 57 is still the most concrete measure ever taken in Connecticut to stop pollution. It differs from most "there ought to be a law" cases in that it provides the means to the end, i.e. a \$150 million bond issue for municipal improvement and the granting of tax incentives on new anti-pollution devices to industry so that they can properly treat their sewage and still show a profit. Furthermore, the act provides funds to cover the costs of municipal planning for the new facilities, so that there is no delay in getting started.

The mechanics of the bill are straightforward. The bureaucracy involved is the State Water Resources Commission. The Commission co-ordinates anti-pollution plans and issues orders against polluters. These orders call for plans and timetables for action against specific pollution causes.

A \$1000 a day fine for violations provides muscle for compliance. This has never been imposed. The bond issue pays for 30% of the costs of new municipal treatment plants. Federal legislation can provide up to another 55% of such costs. The 15% left-over is the city's problem, and this problem can be to the tune of several million dollars.

Pollution, as far as Public Act 57 is concerned, includes any wastes or material which comes in contact with, and alters, any of the "...physical, chemical or biological properties of any of the waters of the state." Mill River pollution involves all of the categories outlined in the law.

Physically, the river is altered in that a great deal of the time it has a milky white color; its temperature has been raised high enough so that it cannot freeze in winter [as the result of the heat pollution from United Illuminating], and the bottom reeks of decaying paper and sewage. Chemically, the water is loaded with dyes from the paper mills and has little free oxygen to support marine life. Biologically, fish no longer live in the river, oysters are infected and dead in the harbor, and harmful bacteria are introduced by occasional dumpings of raw sewage. Certainly, the Mill River is not only polluted in the eyes of its neighbors, but in the eyes of the law.

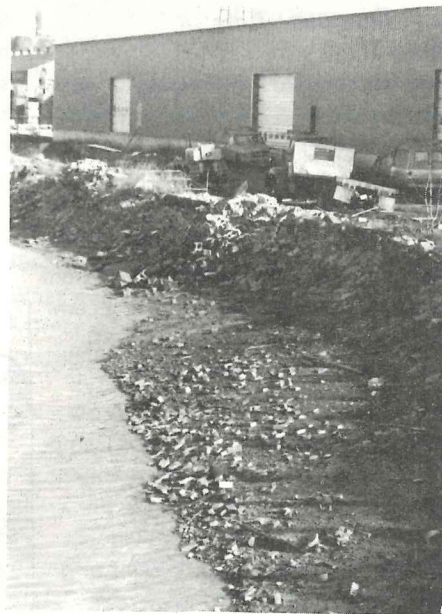
Polluters Stall

Since the Mill River flows for only

about two miles through downtown New Haven and because it is relatively pure when it enters the City, it is not really difficult to isolate the polluters. The two paper mills, *New Haven Box and Carton* (now *Simkins Industries*) and *Federal Paper* release approximately four million gallons of outflow daily. Both companies have partially cleaned their outflow in the past few years. For example, New Haven Box and Carton has spent about \$100,000 in an attempt to save raw materials, pulp, lost in the outflow, in order to reuse it in the cardboard fabricating process. Unfortunately, the "save all" operation barely breaks even and the raw materials saved cannot be expected to recover initial capital expenditures for the equipment.

However, neither company has shown interest in the expensive process of removing a clay tinting agent suspended in their effluence. These fine particles of clay are the actual discoloring agents of the water. At least, now, very few large chunks of paper float down the river.

A secondary polluter of the Mill River is the City of New Haven itself, which dumps absolutely raw sewage into the stream during any heavy rain. This is the result of street run-off, which uses the same lines as home wastes. The rain water overloads the century-old sewer main under East Street forcing the excess sewage out over-flow lines feeding directly into the river.



A view of the Mill River from the Grand Avenue Bridge. The polluted water has killed all the shoreline vegetation, leaving bare ugly mud and rocks.

Another interesting aspect of the city's contribution to the death of the Mill River is the state of disrepair of the tidal gates above the State Street Bridge where I-91 passes over the stream. These gates were designed and installed in the thirties to keep brackish water out of the East Rock area at high tide. Today they should serve to keep noxious water out of the same area. However, the gates do not close properly and are washed-out along one bank. Therefore, at high tide, polluted water flows upstream into an area that could be kept pure easily. Although the city has been made aware of the situation by the State Water Resources Commission, it appears that few, if any, improvements have been completed.

Timetable for Change

That the paper mills and the city have been polluting the Mill River has never been in dispute, and the State Water Resources Commission has diligently issued them orders "to abate pollution." They were provided with a timetable for completion of primary and secondary treatment facilities.

Primary treatment removes filterable solids and is usually followed with secondary treatment which clarifies and removes suspended solids whose particles are too small to filter and cannot settle out of the effluence immediately. However, both companies have the alternative of primarily treating their wastes, then, if they can reach an agreement with the city, pumping these wastes to a city plant for secondary treatment.

In addition, the City of New Haven has orders against it to secondarily treat all its sewage and to redesign its sewer system so that overflows into the Mill River can be avoided. At the present, the City primarily treats its sewage. Therefore, it would seem that if the city and the plants comply with their orders, the stream would be cleaned and cease being an eyesore to Fair Haven residents.

However, as anyone can tell, the Mill River is not being cleaned. The bureaucracy has finally ground to a halt. Plans for pollution abatement at the two mills were due at the Water Resources Commission months ago, but they are not yet even in the process of being drawn. The excuse: The City of New Haven has not yet completed its engineering study of secondary treatment of the city's wastes,

and the mills' reports are contingent upon the city's report.

Logically, one now wonders why the city is months behind in completing its report. The excuse: The State Water Resources Commission, the agency which issued the pollution abatement orders in the first place, has not yet completed a report on flow patterns in New Haven Harbor. Therefore, the city cannot do any planning until it knows the optimum areas in which to dump its treated sewage, because the placement of the new secondary treatment plants depends upon the location of the best dumping areas. The Commission is now "in the process" of completing the harbor report.

Talking in Circles

Two conclusions may be drawn from the confusion. First, since the city insists that it must dump its treated sewage only in "optimum" areas, one must assume that what will eventually be released from these plants will be something much less than potable water. If this were to be pure water, they could dump it anywhere without worry.

Secondly, the orders issued by the State Water Commission about pollution in the Mill River were worthless when issued, for, if they were to be taken seriously, they were all contingent upon a report that the issuing agency had not yet completed, and it would be impossible to comply with such orders.

Suddenly from the wreckage of the bureaucracy a myriad of questions arise about the validity of the whole system. Do these conclusions mean that the State Water Resources Commission writes only meaningless orders to quiet a pollution-conscious public, and is a mere tool of the politicians that run this state? Certainly, no one could call the Commission insincere in its attempts to stop pollution, at least not with the evidence presented, but, one can still question the utility of the organization if in almost two years' time its mechanisms are still at a standstill.

Both the State Water Resources Commission and Public Act 57 miss the point that the Mill River pollution dispute involves only the city, its Fair Haven residents and two of its factories, not a huge region needing Federal and State coordination. Of course, regional pollution control plan-

HAVE PLANS, WILL TRAVEL REVISITED

— Flash —

Elliot Segal, former head of DNI, and up to now the city's director of the city demonstration agency, announced he was leaving the city to take a position with Yale University.

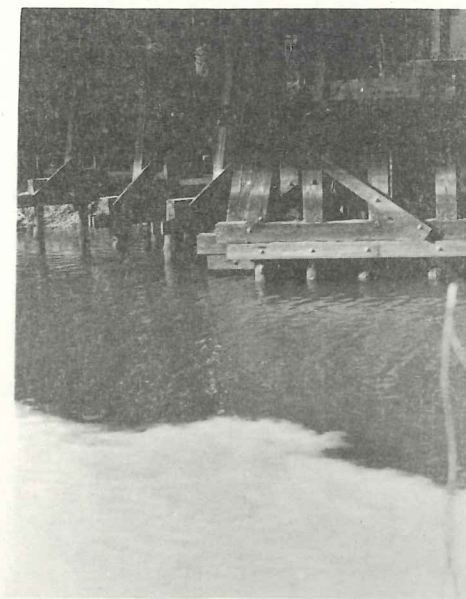
The Ships sink further!

ning and a State Water Resources Commission are indispensable in an area such as the Connecticut Valley, but the pollution problems of a two mile long stretch of stream, seldom more than 100 feet wide, and having only two major polluters, are necessarily local, and a massive set of laws and organizations serve only as cover for the basic conflicts involved in such battles.

Can Industry Stay?

For example, the questions that should be asked of industry in this case do not start with when they shall install pollution abating devices, but rather, whether or not these industries are really interested in staying in New Haven and becoming an equal member of the community in the first place. This line of questioning is extremely pertinent as both paper mills are old and one has already cut its production in half for "economic" reasons.

A second question which then might be asked of the mills would involve exactly how much of the costs of secondary treatment they can or will absorb.



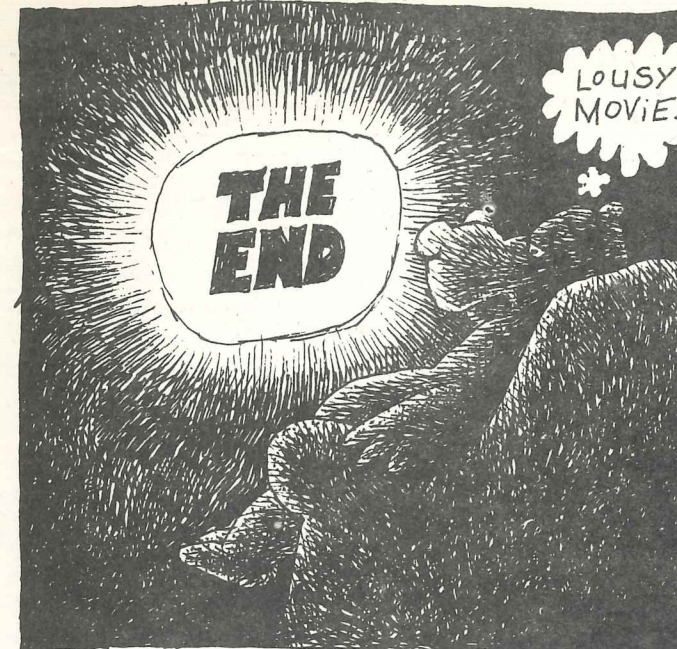
The sharp white boundary is caused by effluent from Federal Paper Co. mixing with clean water from East Rock Park. Each day they dump 14,000 lbs. of wood fibre in the river.

The next line of questioning must be directed to the city by its citizens. The first question asked should not be a matter of when the city will start treating the mills' sewage, but whether, in the first place, it is in the city's interest to treat this sewage and thereby allow the mills to remain in New Haven. Must the city bear part of the costs of secondary treatment in order to save the jobs of approximately 400 New Haven residents who would be out of work if the mills moved? In other words, should the city follow the plan outlined by Public Act 57 and pay industry's multi-million dollar pollution bill and, in effect, subsidize pollution creating industry, in order to keep these industries and the economic benefits they produce for Connecticut, or, in this case, for New Haven?

One may take comfort in the fact that when the State Water Resources Commission eventually finishes its harbor report, and the city starts its engineering report, the City Engineers shall ask of industry these same questions of intent. They want to know if the mills will still be in operation five years from now to use the facilities they might build. But, after years of delay, the end result for the Mill River community will be determined by the way the City answers its questions of "best interest".

I note with amusement that these "questions of 'best interests'" are the same questions of value sidestepped by the arbitrary declaration of Dempsey's Clean Water Task Force: "Although industry has no right to pollute our waters, the 'public monies' of the State may be used to abate their pollution." But, one cannot simply declare that part of a good's production, in this case, pollution, and the costs involved with that part of production, are not the responsibility of the good's manufacturer. If a manufacturer cannot meet his costs of production responsibly, maybe he does not belong in that business.

So, although this question of "intent" and its underlying moral question have been sidestepped, they are still unavoidable, because the City must still decide how many millions it can afford to pay for new facilities. The unavoidable question which the City, and especially the citizens of Fair Haven, many of whom work in the mills, must consciously answer is: "Under threat of loss of 400 jobs, must we still surrender to industry's demand to be paid to clean its own dirty underwear?"



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HILL ACTION, cont.

development Agency. The HNC has been consistently misled by the New Haven Redevelopment Agency.

Monday morning the people of the Hill will be on the corner of Putnam and Alling Street to insure that the commitments they have made with the city through the Hill Neighborhood Corp. will be honored. The Putnam Street houses are only the most recent of a long list of neglected property owned by the City of New Haven. The time has come for the neighborhood to protect its own buildings, establish a guard service and rehabilitate all useable apartments. It is not just an issue for the HNC but for all neighborhood groups and individuals affected by Redevelopment policy. We ask that they show their support by being on the corner of Putnam and Alling at 8:00 a.m. Monday.

MARINE C.O., cont.

stopped along the way to rap with skeptics. Fran fuller, who recently resigned as an Army career officer to work for The Resistance, gave a local newsman a ten minute interview.

Although literally every turn of the march was improvised by a sense of the group, the march proceeded smoothly. In terms of getting the message before people without creating negative defense reactions the march was surprisingly effective. Per-

haps this suggests the value of small demonstrations which allow more intimate interaction between demonstrators and spectators with a minimum of hysterical generalizations by either side.

A few days after the demonstration, word reached New Haven that Jack's lawyer reported a great boost to his morale when he heard about the demonstration. The really good news came in mid-January when Jack received his discharge as a conscientious objector.



COALITION, cont.

ously in following through on our decisions. Whether we favor demonstrations or not, we must increase our awareness of and communication with other radical groups in the country. A national demonstration should not be the only means of gathering together people who share a common commitment to radical change.

I offer the foregoing pontifications, in the hope of provoking more discussion — preferably in the pages of this newsletter — about questions which I think should concern us all. What do you think?

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